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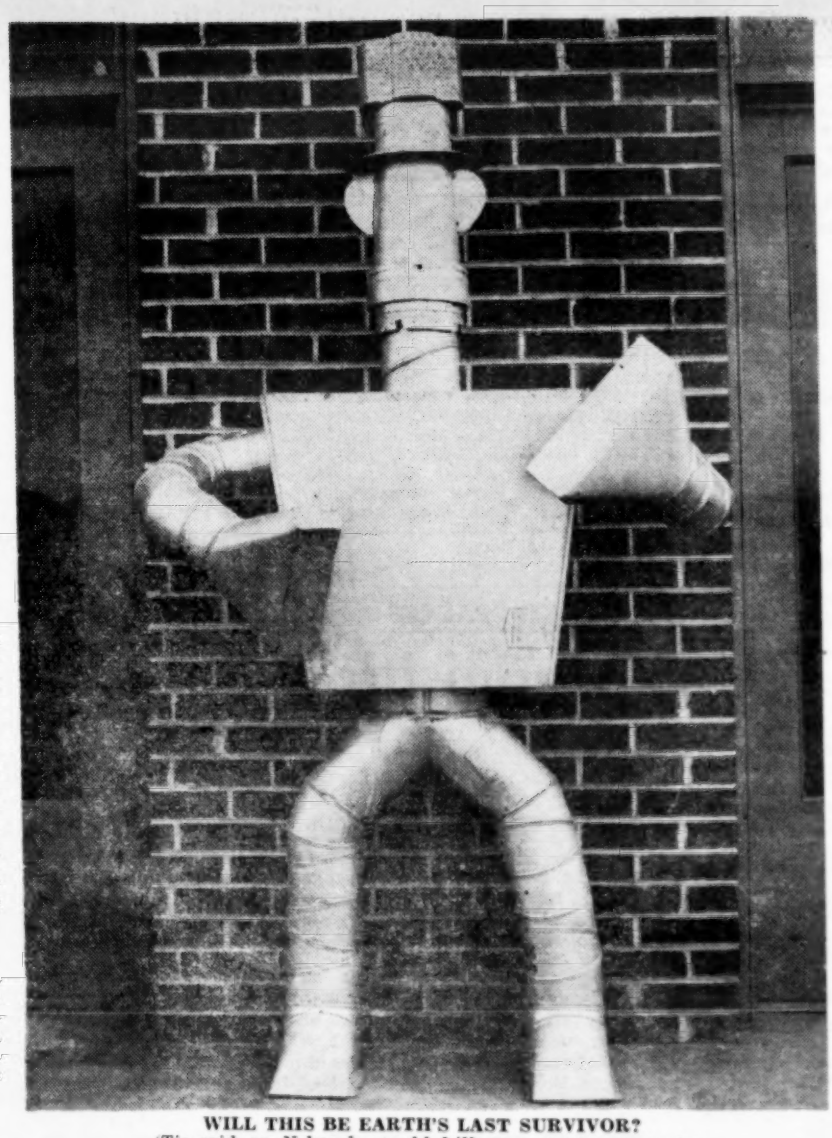

WILL THIS BE EARTH'S LAST SURVIVOR?
'Tis said an N-bomb would kill man, spare property

A CRISIS AFTER 6 MONTHS

Washington beating war drum; Kennedy takes 'hard line'

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

THE NET RESULT of the first six months of the Kennedy Administration has been a sharp intensification of the cold war, with radically stepped-up preparations for and readiness to accept a general atomic war.

After a half year of President Kennedy's leadership, a nuclear World War III looms as a real danger. U.S. military spending is being increased to a peacetime peak, more than 10% above President Eisenhower's recommendation. An aggressive counter-revolutionary strategy of conventional and paramilitary warfare is replacing the stalemate policy of nuclear deterrence. The advocates of a "hard line" in foreign affairs seem to have gained complete dominance in the White House as State Department Undersecy. Chester Bowles and UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson are relegated to political purgatory. The President leads the Administration, the Congress, and the press in building up a belligerent, warlike atmosphere. Declaration of a state of emergency mobilization and wartime economic controls are serious prospects.

CALL FOR CRUSADE: While these developments centered about the issue of Berlin, the Administration has emphasized that its concern is with 'multiple threats" all over the world. In a speech at the National Press Club on July 10, Secy. of State Dean Rusk called for a united crusade of all non-socialist countries against 'Red coercion." He said the issue "is posed between the Sino-Soviet empire and all the rest, whether allied or neutral, and it is now posed in every continent."

The chief Washington correspondent of the New York **Herald Tribune**, Robert J. Donovan, returning after a month's long trip in remote Pacific areas where he was out of touch with world events, provided a revealing view of the mood on the New Frontier. He wrote, "The experience of descending on Washington somewhat like a man from Mars has been a disagreeable shock. It is appalling to discover how fully and soberly and deliberately . . . the possibility of war with the Soviet Union over Berlin this year is being accepted by high officials . . . I cannot recall any time when the specter of Armageddon darkened the thoughts of responsible men the way it appears to be clouding them in Washington today . . ."

PREPARATIONS: A whole series of steps reflect the belligerent 'get-ready-for-war" approach of the Kennedy Administration. Kennedy on July 26 was expected to make his third upward revision in the military budget originally proposed by Eisenhower. The first two revisions raised Pentagon appropriations from $40 to $43 billion. The third is expected to add several billions more. What the final increase will be is impossible to estimate. The Army, Navy and Air Force are utilizing the tension to demand additional money. For example, on July 19, the Air Force Chief of Staff, Gen. Curtis LeMay, urged Congress to add $750 million to the budget for long range bombers. Congress seemed likely to agree.

Prospects of increased military spend-

(Continued on Page 6)

PROPOSED NEUTRON WEAPON IS A LEVER FOR NEW TESTS

A bomb with something for everyone

By Robert E. Light

ADVOCATES OF intensified cold war —among whom Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) is a leader—have found a hot excuse to resume nuclear testing: the neutron bomb. Underground tests, they say, will develop the weapon, variously described as a "death ray," a "third-generation" nuclear bomb and the "ideal battlefield weapon." Allegedly, it will destroy life in a limited area without damaging property and it will yield practically no fallout—perfect for limited wars. As a clincher, N-bomb proponents warn that the Russians may have already developed it.

But the main damage from N-bombs may be to those who swallow its proponents' propaganda. The mysterious weapon would be a very small H-bomb not requiring a fission (atomic) trigger and thus not giving off radioactive debris. It would be exploded at such a height that blast and heat from the bomb would not cause major damage on the ground, but its deadly high-energy, short-lived neutrons would penetrate walls and steel shells to destroy life while leaving property unharmed.

STILL JUST THEORY: The N-bomb is little more than a theoretical possibility; it can be discussed as feasible only because it has not been proved unfeasible. It is not beyond the test-tube stage. There are many unsolved scientific questions. And even if it could be built its military value is doubtful.

Most important is that no non-fission trigger has been found and there are no indications that one is likely to be found soon. Little is known of the effects of high-energy neutrons. They kill by causing radiation sickness, which may be a slow process and thus defeat the tactical value of the weapon. What it takes to produce neutrons with a quick-killing radiation dosage is not known.

In addition, N-bomb advocates have not discovered how to convince the losing side in a limited war not to use its A- and H-bombs. There is little to show that the Russians are interested in N-bombs. Its advocates can point only to Premier Khrushchev's vague statement in January, 1960, that "incredible aims" were being developed by Soviet scientists. More recently Khrushchev said he considers small-size nuclear weapons a waste of money.

Discussion of the neutron bomb began in June, 1957, when Dr. Edward Teller, the late Dr. Ernest O. Lawrence and the late Dr. Mark M. Mills, from the AEC Livermore Radiation Laboratory in California, told a secret session of a Joint Atomic Energy subcommittee that a "clean" nuclear

weapon could be developed. Most other scientists were skeptical. Some accused Teller of trying to upset disarmament negotiations then going on in London.

Little more was heard of the N-bomb, although work on it continued at Livermore, until last November, when the late Thomas E. Murray, a former AEC member, wrote to both major Presidential

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Africa's unions resist Western collar

By Kumar Goshal
Guardian staff correspondent

ACCRA, GHANA

AFRICAN UNITY and the cooperation of free African states to liberate Africans still ruled by colonial powers and to maintain their freedom are not just the subjects of slogans for Ghana's leaders. Together with Guinea and Mali, Ghana is attempting to utilize all aspects of the nation's life to forge this unity. One of the most effective instruments of promoting cooperation is the recently formed All-African Trade Union Federation.

Such a federation, free of outside influence and unaffiliated with any world organization, was first suggested at the All-African People's Conference, which was headed by Guinean trade union leader Abdoulaye Diallo, in December, 1958. After a series of preliminary meetings, heads of 45 union organizations from almost all countries in Africa, representing about 3 million workers, held their final conference at Casablanca from May 25 to May 30.

CHARTER ACCLAIMED: There was hot debate at this meeting, although no one opposed the basic concept of unity of African unions. The major bone of contention was the requirement that all African unions severe their ties with international union organizations. On the basis of giving members ten months to leave other organizations, agreement was reached to establish the All-African

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG

Peace Corps

NORTH GRANBY, CONN.

The Peace Corps idea is not new. The Quakers have practiced it for decades. The World Council of Churches has sponsored such groups for 14 years. Every summer youth from many lands operate work camps to show their good-will and concern in helping other folk in many lands and to learn from those they help. They pay their own way or their home churches may help. This summer some 1100 from 55 countries, including 250 Americans, will serve abroad. Some will lay brick for a village school in Brazil; some will rebuild homes in earthquake-torn Chile; some will clear ground for a park in Hiroshima. The American group goes to Hong Kong to construct a treatment center for narcotic addicts.

They go to show the dignity of labor in lands where the educated feel it undignified to toil manually. They go, not to be their brother's keeper, but their brother's helper. They come back humble, sweet-souled, sobered but cheerful, and willing again to serve. I have seen them.

Herman G. Patt

The German division

TWEEDHEADS, AUSTRALIA

I was in Berlin in the critical months of 1948. I arrived soon after the unheralded introduction of the new currency by the Western Powers which was responsible for the blockade of Berlin. Until they took this action the same currency was used throughout Germany. New mark notes were issued in exchange for old marks, which were no longer valid currency in the Western Zones or in West Berlin.

Although it had been agreed that Germany should be administered as a whole, no notice had been given of this intended move by the Western Powers. The Russians heard about it the day before it was scheduled to take place, and to prevent the avalanche of old currency which would have caused the most disastrous inflation in the area under their control, the U.S.S.R. cut communications between Berlin and West Germany. They threw a cordon round East Berlin to prevent the dumping of the old currency, and instructed the people in the Soviet Sector of East Berlin and the Soviet Zone of Germany to bring their money to appointed offices to be stamped. At the same time they decreed that only such officially stamped notes should be valid currency in these areas.

Introduction of the new currency was the beginning of the division of Germany and Berlin. The Russians countered by cutting road and rail communications between Berlin and the Western Zones of Germany. The Western Powers mobilized fleets of planes which they flew to West Berlin loaded with supplies.

This continued for some months, and when at last an uneasy peace was restored, the division of Germany and Berlin into East and West areas of control was crystalized.

Both East and West Germany wish to be united, but any talk of doing so by holding a plebiscite or all-German elections is unrealistic. The population of West Germany is between two and three times that of East Germany.

The situation in Germany might well lead to another World War. Time is running out.

Jessie M. G. Street

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF., July 19 (AP)—All films relating to Communism were ordered banned from classroom showings here by the City Board of Education today after protests over two films on Communist China. The board's withdrawal followed a special showing of the films "China Under Communism" and "The Face of Red China." The showing was requested by a group of P.-T. A. persons, said Robert H. Burgert, director of instructional aids for city schools. The board withdrew the film "China Under Communism" because it was not appropriate, said Burgert. "It showed the Chinese people to be too happy," he said.

—The Record,
Hackensack, N. J.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: I.T.M., Hackensack, N.J.

Root and Branch

BERKELEY, CALIF.

A group of graduate students at the University of California here in Berkeley, who are concerned about the way in which the Cold War has obscured the real issues and problems of mankind, and who are fed up with the weak and morally compromised stands of American liberalism (a la Schlesinger) and with the disembodied nature of their own technical training, wishing to bring their knowledge to bear on the crucial issues of our time in a radical way, have formed a press with the idea of publishing a magazine.

Requests for our brochure, subscriptions ($2.50 for four issues) and contributions toward defraying costs for our first issue (October, 1961) may be mailed to Root and Branch Press, Box 906, Berkeley 3, Calif.

David Horowitz

Student magazine

BRONX, N.Y.

Having seen the need for an independent forum to report 'New Left' student activities, as well as the need for a publication where students could freely express their ideas and ideals, six Oberlin College undergraduates decided this spring to start the **Activist.**

The **Activist** will appear four or five times during the school year and, as our policy prescribes, will be open to any interested contributor. We especially welcome material from Guardian readers and friends on any relevant topic.

Since we are deeply in the red (financially) we are unable to pay for articles, and our sub rates are $1 per year.

Jonathan Eisen, Editor
4400 Tibbett Ave.

Science and socialism

PAINTED POST, N.Y.

I would like to recommend **Evolution and Culture,** edited by Sahlins and Service, young anthropologists who have kept the spirit of Morgan—the American anthropologist Engels based much of his work on—alive.

They show that even today one can see by using modern scientific concepts that most of the world will become socialist—barring an accidental war of extermination. Perhaps if the Left will wake up to the 20th Century and debate books such as this we may still be able to find a common program.

Richard F. Wightman

No bargain

LAS VEGAS, N.M.

We're getting too much
government,
But there's this much to
say for
The current state: Think how
we'd hate
To get as much as we pay for!

S. Omar Barker

Kamb, Humanite, Paris

"Excuse me, I think it's your turn to dive."

Neruda books sought

NEWTONABBEY, N. IRELAND

The poem by Pablo Neruda, in the issue of May 15, was very moving. I have long been an admirer of his, but have been unable to obtain any of his books here. Can any reader help?

I would particularly like a copy of **Residence on Earth,** published by New Directions (Norfolk, Conn.), or anything that your readers could send me in English. I probably wouldn't be able to send any payment except for refund of postage, but I'd gladly send a book published here in exchange.

Donald B. Wright
383, Merville Garden Village

The Fagans of Ingham

DETROIT, MICH.

Any Michiganders or others having memories or stories about Peter and Sarah Fagan and/or their four daughters, or stray copies of the **News** of Lansing, Mich., or other material about the progressive movement in Ingham County 1918-46, please contact me at the following address, until Aug. 20, 1961.

Ann Fagan Ginger
5524 Class Ave., No. 11
Detroit 2, Mich.

A treat to read

PRAIRIE GROVE, ARK.

A friend of mine gave me a copy of your paper. It is a treat to read; so hard to find a paper or magazine today that dares to print the truth.

Herschel W. Clark

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

SOME RECENT COURT decisions have ordered admission of Negroes to state institutions of learning. Three Southern states are prepared for war on the issue. Georgia's Gov. Herman E. Talmadge sponsored a law denying state funds to schools admitting Negros, even by court order. Said he: "As long as I am governor, Negroes will not be admitted to white schools."

South Carolina's Gov. James F. Byrnes sponsored a law to authorize selling or leasing of public schools to private institutions or groups. Said he: "We will, if it is possible, live with the law, preserve the public school system, and at the same time maintain segregation. If that is not possible, reluctantly we will abandon the public school system. To do that would be choosing the lesser of two evils."

Said Mississippi's Gov. Fielding L. Wright: "We shall insist upon segregation regardless of the cost or consequences."

—From the National Guardian, Aug. 1, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

Inquisition, 1961

WITH THE RACK AND SCREW replaced by modern FBI methods of extorting confession, the ordeal of Dr. Robert Soblen, who faces a "confess or die" ultimatum Aug. 7 in New York on charges of conspiracy to spy for the Soviet Union, could be a dramatization in modern dress of an episode from the 15th Century Inquisition.

Until his indictment and arrest last November on charges against him on information allegedly obtained from his brother, Jack Soble, Dr. Soblen was the supervising psychiatrist at Rockland State Hospital, Orangeburg, N. Y. At 60, he is a victim of leukemia, a cancer of the blood, and medical authorities say he has perhaps a year of life remaining.

His brother Jack (both were born Sobolevicius in Lithuania and chose different Americanizations of their name) was among the profusion of people named several years ago as participants in various international dealings disclosed to the FBI by the Hollywood impresario Boris Morros, who professed himself to have been a double agent for the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

Jack Soble was arrested in 1957 with great attendant publicity at a time when tens of thousands of people were appealing to the U.S. Supreme Court for a review of the conviction of U.S.-born scientist Morton Sobell with the Rosenbergs in 1951. Many earnestly believed then that the case was initiated, even without real evidence of any wrongdoing by Jack Soble, in order to confuse people then being asked to endorse the appeal of Morton Sobell. Sobell is not related to or connected in any way with the Sobolevicius brothers or either of their families.

Jack Soble was never brought to trial, although a six-count indictment was presented against him. While in detention Jack Soble, who had a long history of physical and mental illness, at one point attempted suicide by swallowing some nuts and bolts. Eventually he and his wife Myra were said to have confessed to one of the six counts, and both were sentenced to prison.

But at the trial of his brother four years later, Jack Soble denied all charges of espionage presented against him in the 1957 indictment. During the trial it also came to light that he had received at least 20 electric shock treatments and had given at least 200 statements to the FBI. His brother's defense attorney called his testimony the ravings of a madman "unable to distinguish between fantasy and reality."

THE TESTIMONY of Jack Soble, wnether that of a madman or not, failed in any case to support charges of espionage conspiracy against his brother other than to assert that both had been recruited by Lavrentia Beria in 1940 to go to America.

The only other witnesses directly against Dr. Soblen were a writer for whom Soblen once tried to help get a job on a newspaper and who testified such a job, had he got one, would have been a cover for spy activities; and a woman who had been questioned for years before the trial and had up to then denied any espionage activities. The writer is seeking publicity for a just-published novel. The woman is German-born, and subject to deportation. She denied she had been threatened with deportation proceedings and agreed with the judge's helpful hint, during cross-examination, that she had just decided on her own to "come clean."

Neither offered any evidence of giving Dr. Soblen information any more incriminating than reports on attitudes of Trotskyists and German Social Democrats in the U.S. in the war period.

ON THIS EVIDENCE Robert Soblen, who lay incapacitated in a special chair for most of the trial, was found guilty of the alleged conspiracy, which the judge, William B. Herlands, called "analagous to mass murder." He said he would impose sentence "consonant with that conception"; but he deferred sentencing to Aug. 7 to "see what develops." Despite these circumspect remarks, the New York **Times** headlined its story **"SOBLEN IS WARNED TO NAME RED SPIES."** His bail was revoked and on July 15 the dying man was sent to Federal detention prison for the three weeks until the sentencing date.

The Rosenbergs, in Sing Sing death cells in 1953, were importuned by their inquisitors to "confess" to save their lives. Had they "confessed," a Swiss newspaper asked at the time, would the world have believed their confessions?

—THE GUARDIAN

WRITERS, PAINTERS CONVENE AUG. 18

Cubans set for a hot debate: Role of art under socialism

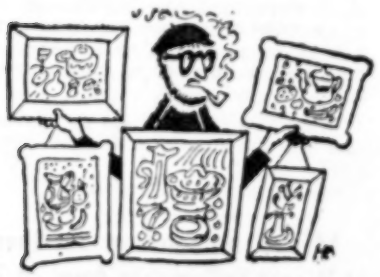
By Cedric Belfrage
Guardian staff correspondent

HAVANA

WHILE CUBA'S revolutionary masses are celebrating the eighth birthday of Fidel Castro's July 26 Movement, writers and artists are feverishly planning their first Congress, to open here on Aug. 18. What will come out of this gathering none can safely predict, but it may well be the broadest free-for-all of its kind ever held in a socialist country.

Cuba has three artists (using the term generally) of recognized international stature: The ballerina Alicia Alonso, the poet Nicolas Guillen and the novelist Alejo Carpentier. There are Cubans of talent in every cultural field; and those who have remained—as most of them have—are keenly aware of the challenge they now face. Many welcome socialism as an atmosphere in which they can work better, and some have fought for it. Others have regarded themselves as "outside politics." But almost all seem determined to work out in their own Cuban way the problem of the artist under socialism.

SOME QUESTIONS: Clearly there will be hot arguments at the Congress about "socialist realism" and the extent to which the Eastern socialist countries' cultural policies should serve as a guide for Cuba. Especially in the field of painting (abstract painters being predominant here) fears are expressed of "Stalinism."



Is one going to have to paint pictures of cement factories and write odes to tractors? Is art to be mobilized and directed by politicans—revolutionaries, yes, but still politicians? Will socialist Cuba echo Mao Tse-tung's call for 100 flowers to bloom and 100 schools of thought to contend, and if so, will Cuba really mean it?

Such questions reflect concern lest state control of art outlets develops into suffocating censorship. Response to the revolution has been slow in terms of themes for works of art. Recently a Cuban documentary film called **PM** was rejected by **ICAIC**, the state organization which controls all movie programs (and has itself made some excellent documentaries), and a group of indignant young artists decided the time had already come to challenge the "state censors." Several hundred intellectuals, scores of them in militia uniforms, gathered in the Casa de las Americas hall viewed the movie twice, and spent the night in a wordy battle about ICAIC's action.

ON THE WATERFRONT: To this observer it seemed healthy that Cuban artists should examine the censorship question and discuss—in what was really a prelude to the August congress—the methods whereby a work's "publishability" will be judged in socialist Cuba. On the other hand, they seemed to have chosen the wrong horse for this mission. **PM** consists of Saturday night scenes in Havana's waterfront bars. The fact that the action is filmed in the capital of the first Western socialist country is ignored. The movie is a brief portrayal of a "pub-crawl," but says nothing even indirectly about the subject in general or about the pub-crawlers pictured.

PM seems to have little merit by any standards; the most tolerant critic might call it a promising first try by its young director for the $90 it cost him to make. But the debate in the Casa de las Americas had been set off by the ICAIC's rejection, allegedly on the ground that **PM** was "counterrevolutionary." The film's defenders wanted to know: Who says so and by what right?

In itself the **PM** dispute is a teacup storm, but the debate will continue on the larger issues which the pro-**PM**-ists believe to be involved. A weekly platform for cultural controversy is provided by the magazine **Lunes**, issued as a supplement to the newspaper **Revolucion**. The fact that the editors of **Lunes** are leading **PM**-ists—and that **Revolucion** is the organ of the July 26 Movement—shows how "typically Cuban" this revolution is. **Lunes** specializes in the presentation and defense of abstract art, and has a soft spot for U.S. beatnik writers with Cuban leanings. A recent issue contained four pages on the beatniks; a seven-page fonesco-type playlet about mad old ladies, by a Cuban teen-ager; an article by the British Marxist critic John Berger, and a series of Cuban artists' statements about the August congress.

A SPACE PIONEER SALUTES A POLITICAL PIONEER
Soviet Major Yuri Gagarin placed a wreath at the tomb of Karl Marx in London during his recent visit. The cosmonaut flew to Cuba July 24 for new honors.

CASTRO SITS IN: In these statements intellectuals ranging from abstract painters to Communist poets spar in preparation for the four-day battle over what "cultural freedom" should mean in socialist Cuba; but through them runs a powerful thread of patriotism and pride in the revolution. Many evoke the spirit of Marti, Cuba's revolutionary "apostle" who was also its outstanding man of letters. Alejo Carpentier writes of the need for concrete "team-work" projects to come out of the congress, in the field of "historical and critical revision." The Communist writer Juan Marinello stresses the advice to Cuban artists by Nazim Hikmet on the Turkish poet's recent visit here, to "look toward your colleagues of the socialist countries." But nobody seems to imply that Cuban artists should emulate Soviet or U.S. culture. They want to seek something of their own.

After the all-night **PM** talkfest, many of the protagonists were depressed by the "anti-cultural super-Marxist pomposity" of defenders of the ICAIC "ban" or by the "decadent, bourgeois libertarianism" of the **PM**-ists. Prospects looked a bit blue for the Congress until Premier Castro called representatives of all viewpoints together and encouraged them to air their principles and complaints. Castro did little talking, but listened raptly, puffing cigars. Versions of what he did say vary, but all who were present chant his praises and declare the differences to be less formidable than they had appeared.

With such a chairman, Cuba's cultural controversialists stand a good chance of finding a workable agreement on their problems. But as Castro would be the first to say, nobody can lay down rules for the production of works of art.

Elections? Castro tells why not now

WE CUBANS ARE NOW concerned with building the foundations of a new society; we are pouring cement and putting up the lower floors. We are not thinking of furnishing the house until it is finished. Then we will furnish and decorate, and here in the Capitol a parliament of the people will function again.

Some people come with their anachronistic judgment of the revolution, asking when we'll have elections. I say to them: "Ask the people!" Go into the streets and ask them—it isn't me saying "No" to elections, it's the people saying it. For 50 years our people had to endure these bourgeois parliaments and governments of thieves, and the people saw they were just exchanging one reactionary group for another. Was there any change? None whatever. Why is there no change of power between the monopolies and the Southern Negroes in the USA? Clearly the change of power in Alabama and all those states is between whites—and between rich whites, not poor ones, because if there is a change between rich whites and poor whites, that is a revolution . . .

A GUN FOR EVERYONE: Whenever those who impugn the Cuban Revolution on the question of elections will give a gun to every worker and farmer, on the very next day we will have general elections in Cuba . . . The Southern reactionary bourgeoisie which beats its chest talking about democracy is incapable of giving a single gun to a single worker or farmer, is incapable of arming the people and giving them power. It prospers on the fiction that the people have the power . . . But the power is in the hands of military groups obedient to and educated by reaction, of the big landowners, monopolies and capitalists . . .

In a revolution it is the people who are first to analyze who holds the power—and who has it in Cuba? The people. Without the people where would the Revolutionary Government be, confronted by the Pentagon, the CIA and the Yanqui government? If we depended on a professional army in the old sense, with a Yanqui military mission, what would become of us—or rather what would have become of us a short while ago?

COME AND SEE: The power of the revolutionary government is simply the power of the people and nothing more . . . Any minister can go into the streets, go where the people go and be like any other citizen . . .

How ridiculous the imperialists make themselves when they speak of a reign of terror and that the government rules by terror! Of course, I don't doubt that the reactionaries are terrified—what reactionary is not when he sees a people armed?

We put no obstacles in the way of North American visitors to Cuba. The doors are open. Let three million come if they want, in peace, to see the "horrible" regime in Cuba and how unhappy its people are. Our position is: Come and see what a democratic government is like. Their position is: You can't go to see; it's bad but you can't go; it's horrible and the people are very discontented but don't go to visit them.

JAPAN CANCELS VISA

Aptheker barred from conference

DR. HERBERT APTHEKER, one of seven U.S. delegates to the 7th Annual Conference of the Japan Council Against A & H Bombs in Tokyo Aug. 9 to 14, has been barred from attending by the Japanese government. Dr. Aptheker's visa was abruptly revoked on instructions from Tokyo 24 hours before he was to leave New York.

Protests to the Japanese government and to the U.S. State Dept. have been wired by Stephen M. Fritchman, chairman of the U.S. Provisional Committee which is sending six other delegates and six observers to the peace session. Dr. Aptheker, editor of **Political Affairs**, is a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A. He is the first foreign delegate to be barred from the conference, which has invited representatives of more than 40 other countries, including China and the U.S.S.R.

Protest filed on looting of rights groups' offices

A SERIES of raids on offices of civil liberties and peace organizations in California including the office of SLATE, a student organization, has been protested by Dorothy Marshall, chairman, Los Angeles Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, in a wire to California Atty. Gen. Stanley Mosk.

Bank statements, minutes, mailing lists and other organizational materials were taken in four raids June 25 on the Los Angeles offices of the Citizens Committee and the Sobell Committee and on San Francisco offices of the Sobell Committee and the Lobby for Peace.

Unions in Africa

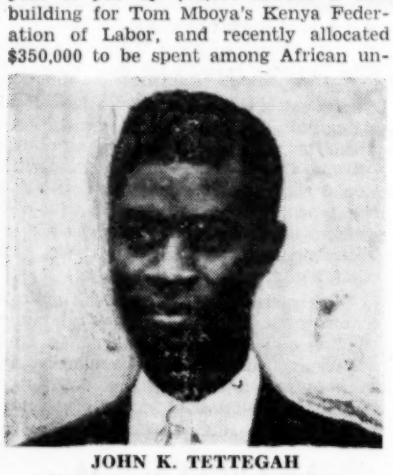
(Continued from Page 1)

Trade Union Federation.

The charter was adopted by acclamation. It called for positive neutralism, support for colonial liberation and opposition to foreign interference of any kind in the affairs of African nations. Moroccan trade union leader Mahjoub Ben Seddick was elected president. A seven-man secretariat composed of representatives of Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Kenya, the United Arab Republic and the Provisional Algerian government was set up.

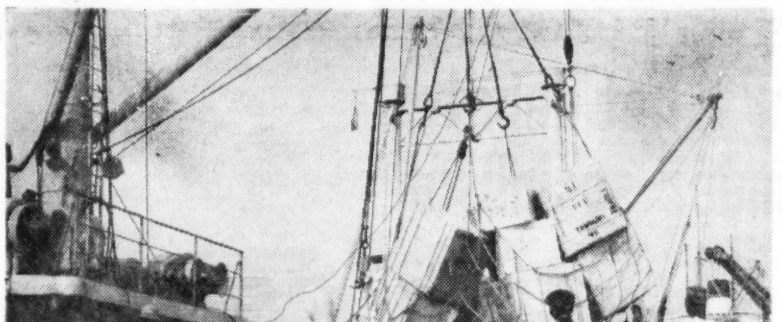
There were many reasons why African union leaders decided to form the AATUF. They had observed with dismay the division of the world union movement into the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. They have been repelled by the American AFL-CIO program pouring thousands of dollars into Africa to obtain allegiance of African unions in countries still ruled by foreign powers, when the U.S. itself rarely supported freedom movements in such countries and often allied itself with the ruling powers.

U.S.-BRITISH RIVALRY: The AFL-CIO has been lavish in its use of dollars. Last year it put up $54,000 toward a new building for Tom Mboya's Kenya Federation of Labor, and recently allocated $350,000 to be spent among African unions. It has been asserted that British and American unions have developed a bitter rivalry over control of African unions. Most galling to independence-minded African unionists has been the British and American advice that unions in Africa should confine activities to wages-and-hours issues and not get involved in politics.



JOHN K. TETTEGAH
Harsh words for the AFL-CIO

John K. Tettegah, secretary-general of the Ghana Trade Union Congress, explained the AATUF view to me. Tettegah is a dynamic, eloquent young man, whose career will be worth watching. Words pour out of him, trying to keep pace with his swift thoughts.



THE CARGO IS SWUNG ABOARD IN THE PORT OF CONAKRY
For the African worker, African freedom is a key goal.

Behind the enormous desk in his office, he answered my questions forthrightly. He said: "Have you noticed that ICFTU —and that means largely AFL-CIO—activities in Africa are mostly in countries where Africans are still struggling to be free? Isn't it preposterous for American and British trade unionists to tell African workers not to be involved in politics, when it is political power that enables their employers to exploit them economically?

"It is strange to hear the British TUC telling African workers to 'keep out of politics' when its own leaders are affiliated with the Labor Party in Britain. British workers had to go into politics to protect their interests, although they live in a free country. Most African workers today don't even live in free countries. How can they try to better themselves 'legally' or 'peacefully' when, in South Africa, for instance, it is illegal for them even to organize trade unions.

"Also, have you ever thought about how western trade unions have been able to obtain better wages and working conditions peacefully? They have been able to do so because their employers have made fortunes out of the hides of colonial workers like the Africans and have thrown a few morsels to their domestic workers. Tell me, instead of giving us impertinent advice, why doesn't the AFL-CIO spend its hundreds of thousands of dollars in helping free the Africans in South Africa, the Africans in the Portuguese colonies and the people of Algeria?"

THE ISSUE: "But Mr. Tettegah," I said, "some of the countries like Kenya and Tanganyika, where you said American money is being used to influence the trade unions, are more or less on their way to independence. Tanganyika is to become independent on December 9. Surely there the struggle for independence is nearly over, isn't it?"

"That's only partly true," he replied. "We feel that the Western powers are worried by our decision to build a socialist society, adapted to the needs of Africa. They are trying to protect their investments, their interests in colonies on their way to freedom, by using the trade unions against, say, possible nationalization of industries when these colonies become independent. They are trying to weaken the political movement in these countries by politically neutralizing the workers of these countries."

"By calling on AATUF members to leave international organizations," I asked, "are you trying to isolate the African trade unions?"

"Not at all," Tettegah said. "We have not thrown overboard the noble concept of solidarity of the workers of the world. But the Western trade unions have been treating us patronizingly, attempting to impose on us the way they run their own unions, even forgetting the bloody battles they had to fight to establish their rights. What do the Western trade union bureaucrats know about our struggles for freedom from colonial rule? We resent their condescending attitude. We want genuine unity of the workers of the world, in which the African trade union movement is treated as a full and equal partner. Only a strong, united, free African trade union movement in a free Africa can demand and receive such equality."

NO CONSPIRACY: "Is it true, as I have heard," I asked, "that you are also using Ghana money to help trade unions in other African countries?"

"Of course it is true," Tettegah said, laughing. "Is that supposed to be shocking? If it is all right for American dollars to be used to persuade the African trade unions to lean toward the West, why should it be wrong for us to use Ghana pounds to protect the interest of Africans? Besides, we are not involved in any conspiracy. Let me show you how it works."

Tettegah pulled out of a drawer a file of letters and showed me a letter from Rhodesian African workers who needed money. He said: "These are our brothers. Do you expect us to turn down their appeal? Do you know how poor they are? Sure we help them, and we will help African workers everywhere to the best of our ability."

"What is your opinion of the conference of African trade unions the ICFTU has called to meet in Dakar from July 30 to August 6?" I asked.

"The AATUF is a dynamic organization," he said. "No amount of hot dollars can divert the African workers from their historic course. We were aware that the ICFTU would not leave us alone without a last try. But we are on a mission. No amount of treachery and Western propaganda will stop African workers from their genuine and avowed cause. After all, we only want to protect the interest of Africans. We want to have friendly relations with all who are friendly toward us. I don't think the ICFTU will fool many Africans. We are not just talking theory; we already have something to show, as you must have observed yourself."

"What if the ICFTU sets up rival unions where you have member unions?" I asked.

"We will beat them," he said.

Mazey to conduct seminar at World Fellowship Aug. 21-25

ERNEST MAZEY, member of the executive board of Local 212, United Auto Workers, will conduct a seminar at World Fellowship, Conway, N.H., Aug. 2-25. He will discuss automation, and labor's role in the cold war.

The neutron bomb

(Continued from Page 1)

candidates, arguing for a nuclear test resumption. He said that but for the moratorium the U.S. would have already tested a "third-generation weapon, as radically different from the H-bomb as the H-bomb was from the Hiroshima-type A-bomb." Once developed, he said, the new bomb would turn the H-bomb into "a symbol of weakness and inferiority." From his description it was clear that he meant the N-bomb.

Top scientists were quick to answer Murray. Dr. Hans Bethe, professor of physics at Cornell U., said: "It is questionable that the bomb could be developed and I don't see that it would have a great advantage over the old-fashioned fission bomb, of which we have thousands . . . . This is another attempt . . . to divert public opinion from the real issue: To get a treaty that could lead to disarmament."

Nobel laureate Dr. Isidor I. Rabi of Columbia U. said: "Mr. Murray doesn't know very much about atomic physics." Dr. David Inglis, senior physicist of the AEC Argonne Laboratory, called Murray's description of the neutron bomb "fantastically exaggerated." "Irresponsible," commented Dr. Jerome Wiesner of Massachusetts Institute of Tecnology.

A SPOKESMAN: The recent stalemate of the test-ban treaty talks in Geneva gave the test resumption advocates a new opening. Rep. Chet Holifield (D-Calif.) and Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee have hinted that the N-bomb might be developed through further tests. But as committee members they are restricted from discussing "secret areas." Sen. Dodd is not so bound and he has become the N-bomb's main advocate, through whom the bomb's scientific proponents broadcast their arguments.

In the Senate and in newspapers and magazines, Dodd has showered the N-bomb with praise and endowed it with properties to endear it to all. For the romantic he called it "a kind of death ray." For the hard-headed he said it would eliminate the "military and political liabilities" of other nuclear weapons and it would be "exceedingly difficult, if not impossible," to defend against.

For the budget-conscious he declared that "it could be built at a fraction of the price of an A- or H-warhead." To the easily frightened he said, "If the Soviets were to get it first, it might very well cost us our freedom." And to the humane he said: "It would do next to no physical damage, it would result in no contamination, but it would immediately destroy all life in the target area."

TEST BACKERS: But Dodd has not convinced the scientists. **Science**, a magazine for professionals, commented: "Most of the news leaks that have produced the recent stories about the weapon have come from Congressional supporters of test resumption: that is, from men who do not have the technical backgrounds to inspire unquestionable confidence in their evaluation of the possibilities of the weapon."

An anonymous scientist questioned by the New York **Herald Tribune** said: "It doesn't exist. It's a gleam in the eyes of a few people" who want to resume nuclear testing. Another scoffed at assertions that the N-bomb was in the testing stage. "If it's on the drawing boards," he asked, "how big will it be? The size of a barn? The size of a house?"

Scientists deride the N-bomb because its advocates avoid answering the key question: Has a non-fission trigger been developed? A conventional H-bomb (fission-fusion) works on the principles of fusing atomic nuclei, which convert mass into energy and account for enormous heat and blast. To create this fusion a "critical temperature" of about 1,000,000 degrees Centigrade is required. The only known way of reaching this heat is by a fission (atomic) expolsion, where nuclei of uranium or plutonium are split. Thus, the trigger for an H-bomb is an A-bomb.

RADIATION SOURCE: The radioactive isotopes which contaminate the atmosphere and ground come from the fission explosion. If a non-fission trigger could be found for an H-bomb, fallout would be minimized.

A large part of the released energy in a fusion (H-bomb) explosion is in the form of matter-penetrating, lethal neutrons, but they are destroyed by the bomb's fireball. Theoretically, if a small fusion bomb (a few kilotons) could be built with a non-fission trigger, the released neutrons would travel farther than the heat and blast. If such a bomb were released at the right height, its neutrons could penetrate buildings within a 1,000-yard radius to kill their inhabitants without destroying the buildings, while the bomb's heat and blast would not reach the ground.

But a non-fission trigger has not been

developed. And if it were, why limit its use to small bombs?

The New York **Post** commented ironically that the N-bomb "is a weapon to gladden the hearts of any real estate lobby." It wondered, if science has gone so far, "why not [build] bombs that discriminatingly destroy buildings but not life?"

ADULT LEADERSHIP CHALLENGED TO STEP UP ACTION

Youth in NAACP raise cry of 'Freedom Now'

By Joanne Grant

THE NAACP, LONG THOUGHT OF in the North as the leading fighter for civil rights and in the segregationist South as its most implacable enemy, is struggling today to adapt itself to a new field of battle and a stepped-up pace.

Beginning with the first sit-in demonstrations Feb. 1, 1960, the Negro movement took on a new aspect reflected in the slogan, "Freedom **Now.**" Nowhere is this more pronounced than among Negro youth, both the movement's inspiration and its main force. Adult leadership has not yet fully adjusted to the new mood, to the strategy and tactics or to the rate at which the youth are pressing for integration.

A look at the problems of NAACP youth illustrates that organization's predicament.

THE CHALLENGE: At the 52nd annual convention in Philadelphia July 10-16 youth members were conspicuous by their absence at the Sheraton Hotel convention headquarters. The youth were meeting separately, a few blocks away at the Ben Franklin. Yet their presence was felt. Adult speakers often referred to the new impetus the youth had given the movement. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) pinpointed the dilemma which the youth have created for the NAACP. He called the sit-ins and Freedom Rides "the basic break from legalisms." Powell declared: "The day of legalisms has virtually come to an end. The world climate is one of **'Freedom Now!'** Legalisms cannot satisfy this cry. The NAACP must radically change its thrust or be by-passed by the new Negro and the new white man in this world of a revolution of rising expectations."

While adults were sometimes talking of the challenge to the NAACP and sometimes merely paying homage to the spirit of the youth, among the young people a few blocks away there were rumblings of revolt. Some had arrived in Philadelphia with proposals to meet two

Chago in Bohemia, Havana
Schooling in Dixie

of the most important gripes. They wanted youth representatives on the national board of directors so that young people would have some say in policy-making; they wanted to redefine the relationship of youth sections to adult units by changing the Constitution to read "coordinate" instead of "subordinate." The National Youth Work Committee, made up of two youths and two adults from each of seven regions, recommended the addition of three youth members to the board and the convention adopted the suggestion. The wording change was debated throughout the week, then left to determination by the board later.

FREEDOM WADERS: THE INTEGRATION BATTLE COMES TO CHICAGO'S LAKEFRONT
Police round up a group of Negro and white bathers after a demonstration to win recognition of Negroes' right to swim at public beaches. The drive has led to some disturbances by white hoodlums.

ACTION WANTED: These were minimal demands. Full realization of the young people's desires may be a long time coming for they want basic changes in adult attitudes and a drastic reduction in adult control. Above all, they want more and faster action. As Timothy Jenkins, active NAACP member and a vice president of the National Student Assn., put it: "The NAACP program needs considerable re-examination to accommodate it to the new spirit—Freedom Now." Judy Cowan of the University of Wisconsin said that the "monolithic structure" of the NAACP is at the root of the conflict between youth and adults. She said that when the Wisconsin students NAACP chapter urged the adult chapter in Madison to support Southern sit-ins, the adults repudiated the student group in the local newspapers and, she said, "made us look like renegades."

"When a directive came from Roy Wilkins [NAACP executive secretary] two weeks after the sit-ins began urging chapters to lend support, the adults called New York for confirmation before they would move."

Adult chapters in the North, Miss Cowan said, are "dominated by internal politics and social status issues."

A contrasting view was given by a Southern high school student, William Harris of Durham, N.C. In Durham, he said, youth and adults have worked well together in several campaigns.

Another Southern student, Charles Sherrod of Petersburg, Va., a staff member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, criticized the NAACP's attitude toward the Freedom Rides. "If the NAACP plunged in," he said, "we would have a better show. We need thousands for the Freedom Rides."

Sherrod suggested coordination of efforts of civil rights organizations, and a joint fund-raising drive. As Sherrod spoke he was interrupted by a national board member who bridled at the charges, but who was deaf to Sherrod's protestation of loyalty to the NAACP. "You don't understand . . . " Sherrod began. But he was not heard as the board member continued his protest.

SEPARATE GROUPS: Many Negro youth have given up trying to make adults hear. In many places NAACP youth, balked by an adult chapter, have formed ad hoc groups with names such as "Ad Hoc Committee for Civil Rights" to handle unapproved projects.

A South Carolina student told of a variant device: Some of the students maintain a youth adjunct of a local chapter intact as a source of funds while other students form an ad hoc group to take over projects rejected by the adults.

These arrangements don't satisfy the young people who want both to activate adult NAACP chapters and to gain greater autonomy for youth groups. These young people form a minority within the NAACP, for most of those who agree with them enter other organizations to participiate in the nonviolent direct action movement, while often maintaining membership in the NAACP. The Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee is one of those which has attracted action-minded youth. The committee, formed to co-ordinate activities in the Southern sit-in "protest areas," has admitted adults to its councils only in advisory capacity.

PRESTIGE FACTOR: Some adults, mindful of the NAACP's loss of active young people and of the restiveness of some who remain, criticized convention handling of the problem. They pointed out: (1) the youth convention's agenda was drawn up by adults (2) youth did not participate in policy planning, not being represented on the working committees (3) the youth convention program was overloaded in some directions —for example toward the Peace Corps, which was the subject of the orientation program, one convention session and of an address by Sally Bowles, daughter of Undersecy. of State Chester Bowles, at the Youth Freedom Fund Dinner.

A specter haunting the NAACP adults concerned about the role of the youth is the possibility of a loss in prestige. In the past the NAACP has been a symbol to the Southern white. But the direct action protests of other organiaztions could change this. James McBride Dabbs, president of the Southern Regional Council, told the convention that the Columbia, S.C., **State,** commenting on the Freedom Rides, had asked why Negroes did not continue the "tried and true" methods of the law. Dabbs said: "So, the sit-ins and Freedom Rides have made the NAACP seem by contrast conservative, and therefore more native to a conservative South."

Thurgood Marshall, head of the NAACP's legal defense and educational fund, called for a massive school registration program and other action projects. "We will stand behind you with all our resources," he said. But on youth night at the convention a young girl said: "We don't want you behind us for fear you'll get lost in the crowd."

L. A. forum will discuss court ruling on U.S. reds

A FORUM on the Supreme Court decision requiring the registration of Communist Party members will be held by the Westside Forum Committee at 8 p.m. Aug. 9 in Factor Hall, 6075 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles.

Attorney Ben Margolis, specialist in constitutional law; Ben Dobbs, exec. secy. of the Southern California Communist Party, and Tom Chapman, trade unionist, will speak on the legal, historical and political aspects of the decision.

24-hour fast planned to back Freedom Riders

The Congress of Racial Equality will sponsor a 24-hour fast in support of Freedom Riders jailed in Mississippi on Aug. 12 at the Statue of Liberty. Most of those taking part will go to Bedloe Island in New York harbor via the Statue of Liberty boat leaving the Battery at 9 a.m. Others wishing to join the group may catch later boats which leave for the statue at 45-minute intervals. At the close of visiting hours at the statue the fast will continue through the night in Battery Park.

More than 250 Freedom Riders have been arrested in Jackson, Miss., and about 150 are still in jail. Price Chatham, a Freedom Rider who served a term at the Parchman, Miss., state penitentiary and who fasted for three weeks, will be among the demonstrators

The 'hard line' in foreign policy

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, such as Russ Nixon's analysis of President Kennedy's policies, on page 1, is what makes this paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub $1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is $5.

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Kennedy's policies

(Continued from Page 1)

ing led to official reports that any chance of tax cuts was ended and then, on July 20, to the U.S. Treasury recommendation for a $2 billion tax rise. Two days earlier, the Senate Democratic whip, Sen. Hubert Humphrey (Minn.), called for a tax increase "if the President asks for several billions more military spending."

The President moved to increase the Eisenhower Civilian Defense program threefold, from $100 million to $300 million, to provide "a greatly accelerated civil defense effort, including a national fallout shelter program."

DRAFT POOL: Reports indicate some form of mobilization to increase U.S. armed forces. On July 20, Selective Service Director Lewis B. Hershey doubled the pool of draft call eligibles, from 50,000 to 100,000. The Associated Press on July 21 reported that NATO forces are expected to be increased from 22 to 30 divisions. The addition of at least one U.S. division to our European forces is in prospect.

On July 20 the Washington **Star** reported, "The Kennedy Administration is studying plans to revive economic controls as part of the Nation's response to the Berlin crisis." Suggested areas of control cover prices, credit, and wages. Rationing is not a prospect, but some priority allocation of materials for military production is not ruled out.

Reported changes in the CIA following the Cuba invasion fiasco show that the Administration plan is to make a success of such ventures in the future, not to avoid them. Warren Rogers Jr., in the Washington **Post** (July 19) reports that the CIA is to be allowed to continue to handle "small-scale undercover operations," but that "big, quasi-public undertakings, such as the Cuban invasion, would be taken over by the Pentagon."

BERLIN THE KEY: The Berlin crisis is the focal point of the new U.S. aggressiveness in foreign policy. The Administration's toughness on Berlin arises not from any overwhelmingly critical and insoluble issue there, but rather from a determination to make "a stand," to force a reversal of the trend of world events that have been favorable to the Soviet Union. The main architect of the tough line has been former Secy. of State Dean Acheson, whom Kennedy has brought in as his chief adviser on Berlin and Germany. The **Wall Street Journal** describes the Acheson group as believing "the way to convince Russia that America is willing to risk big war—even nuclear war—is to conduct a drastic and speedy U.S. mobilization featuring heavy deployment of U.S. troops to Europe." Joseph Alsop, the influential columnist who champions cold-war aggressiveness and who is an intimate friend of the President, declares: "The defense of Berlin's freedom demands a fundamental decision to risk a nuclear exchange if this is necessary to avoid a surrender."

Acceptance of this approach by the President merely means to affirm a long-held opinion, which he stated on a Milwaukee TV program July 31, 1959: "Our position in Europe is worth a nuclear war because if you are driven from Berlin you are driven from Germany. And, if you are driven from Europe, you are driven from Asia and Africa, and then our time will come next. You have to indicate your willingness to go to the ultimate weapon."

Although officially approving the U.S. position on Berlin, Britain has serious reservations. Crosby Noyes, Foreign Correspondent of the Washington **Star**, reported on July 19 that European Allies didn't share the Kennedy "no compromise" approach to Berlin. The London **Daily Telegraph** wrote July 19, "President Kennedy may be justified in giving priority, as he has so far done, to the military side of Allied planning to meet the Berlin crisis . . . But in pursuing these purposes, Mr. Kennedy gives the impression that he is neglecting the diplomatic preparations . . ."

Kennedy sees Heusinger, missile deal follows

President Kennedy's main ally in the Berlin situation is Western Germany. Chancellor Adenauer is reported as delighted with the Administration's toughness. At 11 a.m. June 28, 1961, Hitler's Wehrmacht operations chief who is now chairman of the NATO Military Committee, Gen. Adolph Heusinger, and U.S. Chief of Staff Lyman L. Lemnitzer held an unpublicized conference with President Kennedy in the White House. In July West German Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss came to Washington, arranged for the purchase of $165 million worth of Pershing missiles, and co-ordinated U.S.-German "solidarity in the face of the growing Soviet threat to Berlin" with U.S. Defense Secy. Robert S. McNamara.

Lancaster, Daily Express, London

"Fanatically loyal as I am to the Western alliance, I could wish that the White House would stop whistling to keep other people's courage up!"

Dickson Preston, reporting for Scripps Howard newspapers from London, said the "British will fight for Berlin, but reluctantly." In a survey by National Opinion Polls, Ltd., in England, Scotland, and Wales conducted on the question of willingness to fight with the West to keep West Berlin, 46% said "Yes," and 45% said "No."

MADE IN U.S.A.: The high excitement over Berlin is mainly a U.S. product. On July 20, David Lawrence wrote, "The people of Western Europe . . . show no sign of uneasiness . . . The real apprehension is inside the government." George Weller of the Chicago Daily News Service reported from Moscow (July 18), "War signs are lacking in Russia. If Nikita S. Khrushchev is readying Russia's 212 million people for war over Berlin, neither he nor they show it . . . The internal propaganda machine of the USSR is almost silent on Berlin . . . not a word of war in Europe." But on July 20, the New York **Times** reported from Moscow that "Soviet fears that the Berlin crisis may be slipping out of control have become evident . . . There was an increasing awareness in the Soviet capital of the risk of war."

Evaluating the Kennedy Administration's foreign and defense policies during the first six months, James Reston of the New York **Times** said they were "basically the same as under Eisenhower but have become more flexible and venturesome." The characterization by Courtney Sheldon of the **Christian Science Monitor** (July 17) is much more to the point in saying that the Kennedy Administration "hopes to execute a U-turn in foreign policy—switch from the defensive to the offensive on Berlin and other critical issues."

TAYLOR'S VIEWS: Such a profound change in strategy was already indicated when Kennedy made former U.S. Army Chief of Staff Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor his White House military and intelligence adviser. Taylor retired in 1959 after bitter conflict with Eisenhower and the Joint Chiefs of Staff over failure to add sufficient limited war power to the existing power for nuclear deterrent. He objected to the "stand-off" resulting from reliance on "massive retaliation," and held that "the so-called limited war forces [must be] the active elements of our military strategy." Taylor, in his book **The Uncertain Trumpet**, which he wrote after retirement, called for "a new placing of emphasis . . . Limited-war forces have the active role to play in the future military operations, the atomic retaliatory forces a passive role. . . The atomic retaliatory forces have become the shield of protection warding off the threat of hostile atomic attack, while the forces of limited war provide the flexible sword for parry, reposte and attack . . . " Taylor called for a military "budget of between $50 to $55 billion a year for the next five years." This is a projected increase of $10 billion to $15 billion a year.

The evidence supports the conclusion that President Kennedy is in main agreement with Taylor. It is in relationship to the ascendancy in the White House of such an aggressive military figure as Taylor that the status of Undersecy. of State Chester Bowles has its significance. Although retained in office temporarily and on sufferance, the fact is that Bowles has "had it" on the New Frontier. Apparently the "hard line" in foreign affairs has taken over in Washington.

That's the spirit!

WASHINGTON, June 8.—The United States, moving toward a decision on whether to recognize Communist Outer Mongolia and support its admission to the United Nations, has had its first diplomatic contact with the remote country.

The State Department confirmed today that the acting chief of the American Embassy in Moscow met there June 2 with Outer Mongolian Ambassador Sonomiin Lubsan. An American Embassy in Outer Mongolia would give the United States a vital listening post on the border of Red China.

—New York **Herald Tribune**, June 9.

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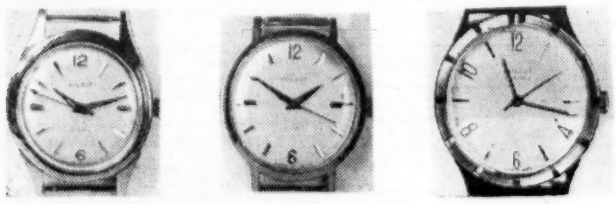

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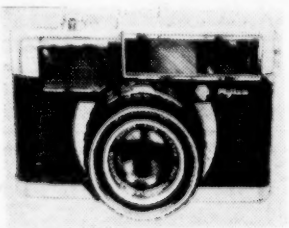

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NEWSPAPER

BOOKS

The earliest Americans

MARY ELTING'S and Franklin Folsom's story of American archeology* is the kind of book that made us wish our kids were not grown up—the most absorbing children's book this adult has been kept up late by in many a year.

Profusely and beautifully illustrated from authentic American paintings, sculpture, artifacts and architectural ruins, and checked for scientific accuracy by Dr. J. Alden Mason, the text employs a mystery-story technique with skill and taste to reveal that the "prehistoric" Americans had an ample and readable history after all.

The story takes its departure from one of the most spectacular remains of neolithic man in the world—the cave cities of Mesa Verde, Colo., and adjoining New Mexico and Arizona areas—explaining the methods by which the archeologists succeeded in dating their finds, and reconstructing in detail the life lived there before the coming of the cross and the cannon.

THE BOOK MOVES ON to inspect the monumental ruins of the Mayas, their temples and sacred wells, their advanced mathematical system, their ball game (precursor of our basketball), their method of carving jade. It recounts the exciting discovery of the treasure of Monte Alban, and of the lost city of Machu Picchu. There are chapters on the great pyramids of the Toltecs, on Aztec pictographic writing, and on the Incas of Peru—their social system, their method of keeping accounts by knots in varicolored string, their great rope bridges across chasms, their 10,000 miles of paved roads rivaling those of the Romans.

If you have ever wondered how pre-Columbian Indians managed to cut, transport and raise multi-ton blocks of stone in constructing their great temples, you will be fascinated by the answer given in the chapter on "Ancient Engineers."

IN THE latter part of the book the authors return to our own country and the great Mound Builders of the eastern United States, surprising this reader by demonstrating the influence of Mayan and Aztec culture on the peoples to the north. Finally, they pose the greatest puzzle of them all: When did man first appear in America? And they invite the young to address themselves to this and other unsolved mysteries of the American past before the ubiquitous bulldozer of the road-building camps turns valuable remains into unreadable shambles.

Have you or your kids ever hankered to make an authentic Indian arrowhead? Have you thought of visiting Mesa Verde National Park, Mexico City, Pueblo Bonito, the La Brea Tar Pits in Los Angeles? Then this is your book—you can **lend** it to the children.

—Philip Stevenson

**THE STORY OF ARCHEOLOGY IN THE AMERICAS, by Mary Elting and Franklin Folsom. Illustrated by Kathleen Elgin. Harvey House, Irvington-on-Hudson. 160 pp. $2.95.*

the SPECTATOR

Two films on wastrels

MICHELANGELO ANTONIONI's film **L'Avventura,** recently at the Beekman and scheduled to re-open at other houses in New York City, show how an artist may think one thing and prove another—but also how the discrepancy is likely to flaw his work. His film moves like a grave pendulum between nature and man to toll the death of feeling. He will not blame the social system, but rather the way the world has developed, for the breakdown of sexual love, "a natural process," as he once said in an interview. Yet his characters are not just anyone at all; they are rich triflers whose reactions are obviously conditioned by their habits, and these in turn by the idlers' place in the sun.

A group of upper-class Romans are on a pleasure cruise to the Lipari Islands off the northern coast of Sicily. Among the guests on the yacht are a handsome architect, Sandro, who has given up creative practice to specialize in estimating production costs; Anna, a pampered and discontended girl with whom he has been having a no-exit affair, and Anna's friend, Claudia, who describes her childhood as reasonable because poor, but who is now caught up in a milieu whose comforts are too attractive to reject. The party lands on a barren heap of volcanic rock. On the thrilling verge of cliffs and to the sough of the sea, some spend the time in restless silence, others amuse themselves with jigsaw puzzles, play-act suicide, or exchange banalities and insults in ritual estrangement. Then Anna disappears. We do not learn what happened to her, and the truth is of no importance. Sandro's worry and Claudia's deeper concern over Anna's fate slide first into his sly probing of Claudia's defenses and finally into her acceptance of him as a lover. What begins on the island is consummated in a meadow in Sicily, where their pursuit of empty clues to Anna has led them.

But it is soon apparent that Sandro will spoil the relationship. After a hotel shindig, Claudia finds him on a couch with an exhibitionist and whore (Gloria Perkins by name). At the end, he is sitting on a terrace, washed in tears of shame, while Claudia strokes his head. The white splendor of Mt. Etna gleams in the distance presiding over what Antonioni calls "a sort of reciprocal compassion."

ANTONIONI'S OBSERVATION of social mores is conveyed both in mass scenes such as the mobbing of Gloria Perkins by a crowd of enthusiasts, or through symbolic gestures: a playboy's letting an antique vase slip through his indifferent hands, and the frustrated Sandro's spiteful spilling of ink over a young draughtsman's rendering of a baroque palace. (A while before we have seen what is probably an example of the kind of work done by Sandro's firm: a group of prophylactically "modernistic" houses and church in a ghost town lacking any sign of former life.)

This rough synopsis might lead one to believe that **L'Avventura** is a sermon on morality. But Antonioni is too much of an artist to try preaching. On the other hand, he refuses to consider the manifest comic or satiric aspects of the situation. Appalled by these wasted lives, he calls upon heaven, earth and sea to lament with him. Social meaning is drowned in universal mourning. The magnificent camera work and musical score call upon us to feel more deeply about the characters than they can feel for each other. The effect is as overpowering—and as disproportionate—as a requiem for a mouse. But it is less imperative to weep for Sandro than to know that his tears are idle. What use is pity if we cannot see things for what they are? In a world that needs changing as badly as ours, compassion can be a poisonous waste product.

IN CONTRAST to **L'Avventura,** Federico Fellini's **La Dolce Vita (The Sweet Life)** spends almost no time grieving for the spendthrifts of their own and others' lives. When we first meet the gossip columnist Marcello and his photographer Paparazzo, they are following a helicopter-borne statue of Christ, while throwing kisses from a second helicopter at girls sunbathing on the roof of an elegant apartment house in Rome. In the closing scene we leave Marcello on a beach to which he and his friends have come after a dull orgy in a nearby villa. They have been staring at the head of a large sea creature, its mouth spewing jellyfish, its eye reflecting the emptiness of the beholders. Across an inlet, a sweet-smiling girl—"angel" from a world other than his—calls to him; but he cannot get himself to cross the shallow water to her side and is led away by one of his own kind.

In the interim—three hours' watching—Marcello is observer-participant in a series of spectacular, wide ranging episodes in the tradition of Petronius' **Satyricon:** sexual circuses and seances of the old aristocracy and the nouveaux riches; quarrels of devouring and indifferent lovers; an amusement park organized around the "miraculous appearance" of the Virgin to two hysterical kids; gentlemen of the press hopping like flies around a young woman whom they know is about to learn that her husband has killed himself and their children . . .

There is no denying the power of Fellini's scenes, though some grow as wearisome as Cecil de Mille's from repetition. Implicit in them is the prophetic cry: How long, O Lord, how long? Yet the film is episodic and not dramatic in conception—like **L'Avventura,** it is strictly an expose of social mores rather than social relations Its scolding carries too many overtones of fascination. And if one should ask who built the fine houses, who will shake them, and who will cut off the stinking fish's head, the prophet is tongue-tied. Day and night the Philistines dance around their idol, Dagon, but where is the laborer Samson?

—Charles Humboldt